1: Jenness--179-180 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 772, 821

"A flat unbroken expanse of land and sea -- the earth --covered over during the greater part of the year with snow and ice; of undefined limits, but stretching farther than any man knows; at each of its corners a pillar of wood holding up another unbroken expanse, the sky(1); above that, on its surface, another land, abounding in caribou and other animals like our own earth; wandering across this upper expanse semi-spirtual beings, the sun, the moon and the stars -- such is the conception that the Copper Eskimo possesses of our universe. The sun and the moon are semi-human, or at least the abodes of semi-human beings, the sun being a woman and the moon a man. The mountains of the moon are the man's dogs, according to one account; according to another, they are a woman with her dogs behind her, for once she came down to the earth and the shamans tied a rope round her and hoisted her up to the sky again. The weather, sila, spoken of as a man, but conceived apparently as some mighty power, moves along the sky, and as he walks the sun goes down; hence the disappearance of the sun each evening. In summer the sun draws near the earth and warms it, but in

---

"1. Cf. Crantz, Vol. I, p.131; Nelson, p.498."

winter it goes far away under the sea. On the 9th of January 1915, the first day of its reappearance after the winter night, the natives heard its hiss as it set again in the ocean. Its face is covered with black at eclipses, siriapaluk, and then the Eskimos know that it is trying to kill people and the shamans have to wipe away the black. The appearance of two mock suns, (parhelia) is ominous to travellers and hunters, who will be cut off by sudden death and never reach their homes again.(2)

The stars were human beings or animals before they ascended into the sky. The three bright stars of Orion's belt were three sealers who never returned to their camp, so the Eskimos call them tupigat 'The sealers', or tubaryuit 'The early risers'(3).

"2. At Barrow two mock suns, one on each side of the real sun, are said to be its walking sticks, aiyopiak. The sun holds them out to steady itself when a gale is imminent. Cf. Peary, Northward over the Great Ice, Vol. I, p. 243."

"3. In Greenland they are called siektut, 'The bewildered men.' (Crantz, Vol. I, p. 232, Egede, p. 209), but the legend is the same."

Long ago a polar bear was being hunted by a man and his dogs. It fled into the sky, and its pursuers followed after it. We can still see the bear, nannoryuk, in the sky, and behind it the hunter and his dogs, always pursuing but never overtaking it. (4) One native pointed to the Pleiades and called them the bear, while Aldebaran and some stars near it were the hunter and his dogs, agleoryuit 'The pursuers'; but the more usual name for the Pleiades is Agietat, the meaning of which I did not discover (5). Two stars in the Great Bear (β and a faint star near it) are tuktuyuin, 'The caribou', while Venus is the 'Big Star,' uvloreahugyuk. Arcturus when high in the heavens ushers in the sealing season, and hence has been given the name of sivulik 'The leader'. Other stars which I was unable to identify are agiatsiak (perhaps the same as agietat), kuttoryuk and agyuk. Falling stars are the annak (feces) of larger ones, but bright meteors are called fire, ignik. (6) The rainbow is aiyakutak, the same name that Mr. Stefansson found for

---

"4. At Barrow the name is tubatsiat, which also means 'The sealers.'"

"5. At Barrow they are called sakopsakkat 'The ones that close their eyes.'"

"6. So too in the Mackenzie river delta (Stefansson, Anthrop. Papers, A. M. N. H., Vol. XIV, pt. I, pp. 327, 341.)"

it at Barrow, where the word means 'The prop that keeps the sun from falling.' [180]

If the Copper Eskimos see a rainbow while they are out hunting they throw a small piece of skin from the belly of a deer toward it, to win its favour and give them good luck. They call the aurora ahanik, and believe it to be a manifestation of the spirits that bring fine weather. Rain comes from snow that goes up into the sky when the weather is warm, while lightning is due to a being named Asiranna shooting his arrows. Not all of the natives, however, agreed to this interpretation, for some called it fire, ignik, and thought that it was caused by the sky, kilak, or by the shades of the dead. The winds, annorait, issue from two holes in the sky. In stormy weather the shamans sometimes tie them all together with a cord of fur taken from the throat of a caribou and push them back into one of their holes. Then the Eskimos enjoy fine weather until the malignant spirits of the dead, aggioktun tarrain inyuin, desiring the destruction of people still living, untie them again and let them loose. The old shaman Ilatsiak, however, confessed that he did not know what became of the winds in calm weather; nevertheless he knew certain things that would cause them to blow hard, for example, 'if the women sewed new deerskin clothes during the dark days of winter, or if in spring and summer the Eskimos lingered too long round the lakes and islands, or ate the lungs of the cariboo.'"

3: Rasmussen--28-29 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 789, 791, 821

"[MPK: The functions of the shaman were:] To propitiate storms and bad weather.

In the case of a long period of bad weather, especially in winter when snow storms put a stop to hunting of all kinds, the shamans would act as subduers of the weather. This was the way it was done: the people gathered in the qag^{s}je, after which one or two shamans ran out into the open air with their upper bodies bare except for a head-band made of the long breast hair of the caribou. The cause of continuous bad weather with blizzards was that the weather's opening, had been left ajar, and through the opening streamed the storm; when the shamans run up against the wind, naked as they are, it is their task to close up the hole in hila. [MPK: the weather] This is often done with the aid of helping spirits, and then the weather's opening has to be bound up with the shaman's head-band. As soon as this is done the storm will cease.

It will be noticed that among the Umingmaktôrmiut there is constant reference to the weather's opening, just as if it were something [29] that could be opened and closed from space -- an entrance hole or the like. Among the other groups that have previously been described it is the usual belief that the spirit of hila is personified in the infant, who lives out in space. When the child's napkin loosens the wind begins to blow, and therefore the shaman has to go up and put it right."

3: Rasmussen--33 (c. 1923) 1932 , Copper Eskimo
821

"The tale of The Sun and the Moon -- as related by the Netsilik Eskimos -- is known, though nowadays the details are only vaguely remembered. A little girl, it is said, was once sent from one house to another in a village to get some meat, and was taken away by the moon up to his house in the sky. It is from this girl that they know how the moon and the sun live in a double house. The girl did not stay long in the Land of the Sky for the sun became jealous and quickly sent her back to earth again.

They have no tradition of shamans having visited the moon or the Land of the Dead; yet they have heard tell that helping spirits have been able to travel there.

As to the moon itself they have surprisingly few traditions, and it seems to have no special functions, neither with regard to game nor unclean women."

7: Jenness--B43 (1914-16) 1923 Copper Eskimo
116, 151, 751, 821

"No tests were made of the vision. In general it seemed good, though probably no better than that of white people living a similar life in the open air. The natives are quick at detecting objects at a distance, such as caribou on a hill-slope or a seal far out on the ice. From this one is very apt to imagine that their sight must be remarkably keen, but the fact really is that from infancy upward they are trained to scan the horizon for game and to detect every little irregularity or unusual appearance. The men take care to wear snow-goggles continually in the spring of the year, but some of the women never trouble about them. One elderly woman who had rather keener vision than usual told me that she never used snow-goggles and had never suffered from snow-blindness."

7: Jenness--B45 (1914-16) 1923 Copper Eskimo
116, 821, 516, 526

"When the feet are cold the Eskimos kick them one against another, standing alternately on each foot, or else they jump into the air and kick them together."

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

caribou. After two days' marching we set up the tents on the shore of a small lake and discussed our hunting program. Ikpuck and The Runner agreed to scour the land to the northward, where the hills sloped away toward Big Lake. I myself chose the higher land to the south-east, whence I could gain a wider view of the country and perhaps discover some rock-exposure that would indicate the geological formation. Leaf wanted to go with her husband, and Jennie insisted on sharing their fun. As for Icehouse, she was content to fish near camp with little Knife-Blade.

We went our several ways in the morning, but an hour after we separated a dense fog settled over the land. I turned back immediately, and by good luck gained the camp again. Some of the dogs were prowling among the tents, and Icehouse and Knife-Blade were fishing just below, but of Ikpuck and his party there was no sign. I sent Knife-Blade home to guard the camp and fished in the lake all day with Icehouse. From time to time the fog lifted for a few minutes, but closed in again as densely as before. Toward midnight, when the light faded a little, we returned to the tents, ate some dried fish, and tumbled into our sleeping-bags.

Icehouse became alarmed when the fog continued unchanged next day. She knew that the hunters were in no danger of starvation, for they all carried fishing-lines. Even if they were unable to cook their fish

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

they were no worse off than ourselves, for the few dryads growing round our camp were too damp even to smoulder, and the semi-dried fish we ate for breakfast and supper were hard on the outside, but perfectly raw within. It was the exposure she dreaded, especially for her little daughter Jennie. She fretted about the child all through the morning, and several times I heard her cry to the fog, "Go away. No one wants you. You make us cold and uncomfortable;" just as white children call to the rain:

> "Rain, rain, go to Spain,
> Never show your face again."

Her anxiety increased toward evening, and she adopted sterner measures. She tied a cord around her face to distort her features, and with a set fox-trap in one hand and a knife in the other, defied the fog with threats and mocking laughter. Knife-Blade and myself, holding her arms, echoed her mockery. "You're a pesky nuisance," she cried, flinging the trap to the ground, where it sprang with a snap. She thrust the two weapons into my hands, distorted my face, and bade me intimidate the fog in the same way; and I repeated her cries, adding a few words of honest English for good measure. Then she re-entered her tent, rolled my jacket into a bundle, and summoned into it, one by one, all the offended spirits that had occasioned the untimely weather. Some were the

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

789 821 shades of white men; I named them for her, Jack, Bob, Mary, Jane, and soothed them with fair words until they departed. Others, that were the shades of Eskimos, she herself propitiated in like manner, and banished with her knife a few that seemed loth to depart. At last her efforts succeeded; the jacket told her that the atmosphere would clear on the morrow, and, greatly relieved, she retired to her sleeping-bag to await the result.

An east wind sprang up in the morning and the fog lifted. "Look," she cried, issuing from the tent. "Yesterday we assailed the fog and it has vanished." Ikpuck and his party appeared about noon, weary, but 484 otherwise none the worse for their experience. Thinking it useless to search for the camp until the weather [513] cleared [226] they had wandered about, fishing in different lakes, and huddling together at night on patches of [224] bare ground. Ikpuck had shot a bull caribou that strayed [262] near them, and they had satisfied their hunger with the [263] marrow and back fat, seasoning them with raw fish.

221 361 The Runner now decided to move to a lake farther north where they had caught many fish during their late excursion; but Ikpuck wanted to continue eastward in search of more caribou. The former departed first. We watched his family disappear over the ridge, then packed up our own equipment and marched away. So our last link with the tribe was severed, and the dispersal of the band complete.